

## Message Text

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ACTION L-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 USIA-06  
PM-05 H-01 INR-07 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
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O 060136Z DEC 77  
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8269  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 5268

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: UN, UR  
SUBJ: WORLD TREATY ON NON-USE-OF FORCE

REF: STATE 274134; USUN 4115; USUN 4956 (NOTAL)

1. US, UK, FRENCH DELOFFS MET WITH KOLESNIK (USSR) TO DISCUSS APPROPRIATE HANDLING OF NUF ITEM.
2. US, UK, FRENCH DELOFFS REHEARSED ALL THE REASONS WE DID NOT LIKE THE ITEM MUCH LESS THEIR DRAFT RES. (TEXT CONTAINED USUN'S 4956 AND REPEATED BELOW.)
3. KOLESNIK SAID HE HAD OBTAINED AUTHORITY TO PROPOSE FOLLOWING REVISION OF OP PARAS 1, 2 AND 4 AS FOLLOWS:

"1. DECIDES TO ESTABLISH A SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON  
'ENHANCING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-USE-OF  
FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS' COMPOSED OF ..... MEMBER  
STATES TO BE APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY ON THE BASIS OF EQUITABLE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION  
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AND REPRESENTING THE PRINCIPAL LEGAL SYSTEMS OF THE WORLD.

2. INSTRUCTS THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO DRAFT AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME A WORLD TREATY ON NON-USE-OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND ALSO TO STUDY OTHER MEASURES FOR ENHANCING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF THE NON-USE-OF FORCE AND SETTTLING DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND AUTHORIZES

THE COMMITTEE, IN THE FULFILLMENT OF ITS MANDATE TO CONSIDER PROPOSALS AND SUGGESTIONS FROM ANY STATE. BEARING IN MIND THE VIEW EXPRESSED DURING THE DEBATES ON THIS ITEM AT THE 31ST AND 32ND SESSIONS OF THE GA.

4. DECIDES TO INCLUDE IN THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA OF THE 33RD SESSION THE ITEM ENTITLED 'REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON ENHANCING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-USE-OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.'

4. KOLESNIK STRESSED THAT REDRAFT WAS EFFORT TO FIND COMMON GROUND WITH US, UK, FRANCE ON NUF AND THEY HOPED WE TOO COULD TRY TO COME PART WAY. HE SPOKE OF IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO COOPERATION WITH US AND TO AVOIDING IF POSSIBLE SHARP DISAGREEMENT.

5. US, UK, FRENCH DELOFFS RECOGNIZED THAT CHANGES IN PARAS 1 AND 4 WERE AN EFFORT TO MAKE MORE SENSE OF THE ITEM AND THUS PREFERABLE TO ORIGINAL VERSION BUT THAT NEW VERSION OF OP PARA 2 CONTAINED NO NOTEWORTHY IMPROVEMENT OVER PREVIOUS TEXT. DELOFF REITERATED THAT WE STILL THOUGHT THE ITEM ILL-ADVISED AND WONDERED WHY THEY PERSISTED IN PRESSING FOR A SPECIAL COMMITTEE AT THIS STAGE.

6. KOLESNIK AID THEY WOULD INSIST ON CREATION OF A COMMITTEE BUT RECOGNIZED THAT WHILE WE ALL WANTED TO ENHANCE CONFIDENTIAL

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THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE CHARTER'S PROHIBITION OF THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE WE MIGHT DIFFER ON THE BEST WAY TO ACCOMPLISH THIS GOAL.

7. DISCUSSION THEN FOCUSSED ON OP PARA 2. IN RESPONSE TO US, UK, FRENCH PROBING, KOLESNIK INDICATED HE MIGHT BE ABLE TO ACCEPT A FURTHER REVISION WHICH WOULD NOT BIND THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO A WORLD TREATY AS THE OUTCOME OF ITS WORK SO LONG AS WORLD TREATY LISTED AS PART OF NON-EXHAUSTIVE ENUMERATION OF RESULTS COMMITTEE MIGHT PRODUCE.

8. US AND UK DELOFFS URGED KOLESNIK TO CONSIDER SIMPLY GIVING COMMITTEE TASK OF STUDYING WAYS AND MEANS OF ENHANCING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF NUF AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT WITHOUT SPECIFYING WHETHER SPECIAL COMMITTEE SHOULD PRODUCE DRAFT RESOLUTION, DRAFT DECLARATION, DRAFT TREATY OR WHATEVER. DELOFF URGED THIS WOULD GIVE SOVIETS A SPECIAL COMMITTEE AND YET LEAVE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US UNPREJUDICED AS TO WHAT THE OUTCOME SHOULD BE. DELOFF ALSO NOTED MORE PROMINENT MENTION OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES WOULD IMPROVE THE TEXT.

9. KOLESNIK SAID HE HAD EXPERIENCED PROBLEMS IN MOVING AS FAR

AS HE HAD AND COULD NOT DELETE ALL MENTION OF WORLD TREATY.

10. IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION MUSEUX (FRANCE) INDICATED PRIVATELY TO DELOFF HE THOUGHT HE WOULD BE AUTHORIZED TO ACCEPT SOMETHING ALONG LINES SET FORTH PARA 7.

11. COMMENT: IF SOVIETS ARE PREPARED REVISE OP PARA 2 FURTHER TO MAKE WORLD TREATY ONE OF SEVERAL OPTIONS COMMITTEE FREE TO CHOOSE AMONG, AND INCLUDE BALANCING MENTION OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, THIS COUPLED WITH CHANGES THEY ALREADY OFFERING IN OP PARAS 1 AND 4 WILL CONSTITUTE SUBSTANTIAL MOVEMENT ON THEIR PART. WE DOUBT THEY CAN AGREE TO RES WHICH MAKES NO MENTION OF WORLD TREATY AT ALL THOUGH PERHAPS EXPERS OR EVEN FURTHER STRONGLY IMPLIED THREAT OF NON-PARTICIPATION IN  
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SPECIAL COMMITTEE WILL MAKE THEM THINK AGAIN.

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-07 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-12 /073 W  
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AMEMBASSY LONDON

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 5268

WE BELIEVE SOVIETS WILL PRESS FOR SPECIAL COMMITTEE AND OBTAIN SUFFICIENT VOTES FOR IT WITH OR WITHOUT OUR SUPPORT. IF WE DECIDE TO BOYCOTT SPECIAL COMMITTEE AND FRENCH AND UK TO LIKEWISE, FACT THAT IS HAS DANGEROUS MANDATE MAY NOT BE PARTICULARLY HARMFUL. IF WE NOT PLANNING ON BOYCOTTING, BELIEVE WE SHOULD SERIOUSLY CONSIDER EXTENT TO WHICH CHANGES

PER PARA 7 ABOVE WOULD IMPORTANTLY DECREASE DANGER OF THE EXERCISE AS WELL AS PROPAGANDA VALUE SOVIETS COULD GET OUT OF IT. END COMMENT.

12. SINCE DISCUSSION OF ITEM SCHEDULED TO BEGIN AM DEC. 6, IT NECESSARY WE BACK TO SOVIETS DURING COURSE OF DAY DEC, 6 AND LET THEN KNOW OUR BOTTOM LINE.

13. SOVIET DRAFT RES FOLLOWS:

QUOTE: CONCLUSION OF A WORLD TREATY ON THE NON-USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

..... DRAFT RESOLUTION

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,  
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CONSIDERING THAT, IN CONFORMITY, WITH THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, STATES SHALL REFRAIN IN THEIR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS FROM THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANY STATE, OR IN ANY OTHER MANNER INCONSISTENT WITH THE PURPOSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS,

REAFFIRMING THE NEED FOR UNIVERSAL AND EFFECTIVE APPLICATION OF THIS PRINCIPLE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND FOR ASSISTANCE BY THE UNITED NATIONS IN THIS ENDEAVOUR,

RECALLING ITS RESOLUTION 31/9 OF 8 NOVEMBER 1976, IN WHICH IT INVITED MEMBER STATES TO EXAMINE FURTHER THE DRAFT WORLD TREATY ON THE NON-USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SUBMITTED BY THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AS WELL AS OTHER PROPOSALS AND STATEMENTS MADE DURING THE CONSIDERATION OF THIS ITEM,

NOTING THE REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL WHICH CONTAINS VIEWS AND SUGGESTIONS OF MEMBER STATES ON CONCLUSION OF A WORLD TREATY ON THE NON-USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,

1. DECIDES TO ESTABLISH A SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON A WORLD TREATY ON THE NON-USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMPOSED OF ..... MEMBER STATES TO BE APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, ON THE BASIS OF EQUITABLE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION AND REPRESENTING THE PRINCIPAL LEGAL SYSTEMS OF THE WORLD;

2. INSTRUCTS THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO DRAFT AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE A WORLD TREATY ON THE NON-USE OF FORCE IN INTER-

NATIONAL RELATIONS AND AUTHORIZES THE COMMITTEE, IN THE  
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FULFILMENT OF ITS MANDATE, TO CONSIDER PROPOSALS AND  
SUGGESTIONS FROM ANY STATE, BEARING IN MIND THE VIEWS EXPRESSED  
DURING THE DEBATES ON THIS ITEM AT THE THIRTY-FIRST AND  
THIRTY-SECOND SESSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY;

3. REQUESTS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO PROVIDE THE SPECIAL  
COMMITTEE WITH THE NECESSARY FACILITIES AND SERVICES,  
INCLUDING THE PREPARATION OF THE SUMMARY RECORDS OF THE  
MEETINGS OF THE COMMITTEE;

4. DECIDES TO INCLUDE IN THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA OF ITS THIRTY-THIRD  
SESSION THE ITEM ENTITLED "CONCLUSION OF A WORLD TREATY ON  
THE NON-USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: REPORT  
OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE". UNQUOTE.  
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## Message Attributes

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**Type:** TE  
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